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IV. APPAREL AND ORNAMENT

Clothing

In general the Tukuna of today wear the same poor sort of apparel as the Neo-brazilians of the same region, but many of them also have quite regular clothes, some of which they make themselves from purchased material. Their ambition is to possess also a felt hat and a pair of shoes, although even under the best conditions shoes incommode them horribly, and few own them. Their best clothing is carefully kept for festive occasions. On workdays they wear only the oldest and most patched fragments, which, though ragged, are not dirty, for the Tukuna will not tolerate the stench of filthy garments.

Even today the women of the igarapés will walk about the house or clearing naked from the waist up, and the men, when going to hunt, wear only an old, torn pair of trousers; sometimes they hitch them up by the belt to form a sort of loin-cloth. The children go naked until about five years of age.

The reports of the ancient dress vary. The earliest observer, Padre Monteiro Noronha in 1768, states: "The women have no modesty at all; the men still cover the parts destined for procreation with wide fringes of thread twisted from a certain white tow which they obtain from tree bark."[1] According to Tessmann, the men went completely naked, with the sexual parts in natural position, whereas the women used an unpainted, triangular piece of tururí cloth (*Picusbastzeug*). Apparently this account of the men's attire requires revision. Actually, the glans was tucked beneath the waist belt. This custom was not only confirmed by my informants but is also mentioned in the culture-hero legend, which tells of *e'pi*: "He pulls his penis from behind the waist belt and dances about the fire.... With this his penis was shaken up. tĕ̈clarĭnvĭ' saw this from her hiding place and could not resist laughing." (See p. 127.)

The festive attire of the men was composed of two small semicircular tangas, one in front and one in back. These were made of painted white tururí cloth just like those worn today by the boys during the rites of passage, *ceremonias de passagem* (pl. 12, *m*). It is probably this garment to which Spix refers as "einen zierlichen Gürtel aus Bast," and which Henry Lister Maw calls "a belt of bark round the waist."[2] In Spix's plate, however, the Tukuna—except one who is completely nude, with the penis in natural position—are all dressed in a nondescript cloth.

According to Castelnau, "une feuille est fixée autour des reins."[3] The plate in the second volume of Bates's work—probably, in spite of some obvious errors, the best illustration of the Tukuna of early times—shows men and women with a tanga hanging in front of a thick belt. In Barbosa Rodrigues' illustration[4] the Indian male wears over the sexual parts a small covering, which is not clear in the plate. The text mentions "bands of the same textile [cotton] with which they cover the sexual parts."

[1] Monteiro Noronha, Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará, § 140.
[2] Maw, p. 211.
[3] Castelnau, 5:45.
[4] Barbosa Rodrigues, Ticunas, p. 53.

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301 Two other items, of purely ornamental character, were apparently part of the ancient daily dress of the men: a necklace of monkey or jaguar teeth and armbands decorated with feathers. In Spix's plate these are not shown, but Henry Lister Maw writes of "some rows of teeth round the neck and some feathers on his arms." Castelnau describes them as follows:

> ... la plupart d'entre eux portent aux bras de très curieux bracelets, qui sont fait d'un bouquet de plumes en forme de rose, d'une belle couleur orange, et qui proviennent de la queue d'une espèce d'Acari; ils les surmontent d'une autre [*sic*] bouquet de plumes flottantes arrachées aux ailes du Savacou, derrière lesquelles paraissent les longues pennes de la queue de l'Ara rouge. On voyait au cou de quelques uns un double collier de dents de tigre ou de singe.[8]

In Marcoy's plate, the Tukuna wear feathered arm bands (of cotton, according to the text) and a four-strand necklace of monkey teeth. In Barbosa Rodrigues' plate, arm bands also appear, as well as a double necklace of teeth: "The men wear great necklaces of pig's teeth ... and, on feast days, some arm bands made of macaw feathers, the arm bands proper being of small feathers of the scarlet macaw, and the ornaments being of blue and yellow tail feathers from the canindé macaw." Even today, the girls use similar arm bands during the puberty ceremony; the boys wear arm bands and necklaces of teeth in the hair-plucking and clipping ceremony. Nowadays the ribbon of the arm band is mostly made of tucum thread woven or plaited on a small frame of rods (pl. 11, *b*).

291 Women's dress was formerly a very short section of cotton cloth around the hips. In 1929 I knew an Indian woman who was the only one who still wore this regularly, but the girls used it until a few years ago for the puberty ceremony (pl. 12, *d*). This cloth (napa'), measuring 105 by 36 cm., was of a relatively thin and coarse woven cotton cloth decorated with some longitudinal stripes of black.

286 These cloths, as well as the slings for carrying infants, are woven on a vertical, rectangular frame of rods (na:'pavëru), the threads of the warp being passed over the horizontal rods. The alternate raising of odd and even threads (*Fachbildung*) is accomplished by means of a system of threads (na:-a'pëtina, "navel"). (See pl. 8, *c*.) The woof is rolled over a small stick and spread apart with a wooden knife (tuë'përu). Tessmann denies that the Tukuna knew the art of weaving,[9] but even Marcoy mentions the tanga, and Barbosa Rodrigues writes of "a large tanga woven of cotton or turury which encircles the hips."

301 Rodrigues also reproduces the feather head ornament the men used to wear, which today has completely disappeared, describing it as follows: "... a large, feathered forehead band of the wings of the same macaw [*canindé*] edged with tiny red feathers and completed by four or five long tail feathers of the scarlet macaw in front." The plate shows this piece as a circlet of clipped feathers about twelve centimeters long, fastened together and mounted on a narrow band of some woven material, encircling the head; there are four very long feathers curving to the rear.

292 According to Tessmann, the headdress, called *nabátu* (i.e., na:-patëe), was made of the *Scheelea* (?) palm and feathers. My informants said this piece was a cotton bonnet with short toucan feathers attached to the woven material; it was used

[8] Castelnau, *loc. cit.*
[9] Tessmann, p. 561.

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only by chiefs, the last who wore it being the maternal grandfather of my informant Calixto daueru'kl. This is evidently the same object that Bates describes: "The chief wears a head-dress or cap made by fixing the breast feathers of the Toucan on a web of Bromelia twine, with erect tail plumes of macaws rising from the crown." In his plate, the man leaning against a house post is evidently the chief with his regalia.

Artificial Body Deformation

The manner of cutting the hair was formerly the same for both sexes. It was trimmed straight across the forehead just above the eyebrows, the rest, which was never cut, being allowed to fall free to the shoulders and sides. All old portraits confirm this. For work, the men rolled up their long hair in back, confining it by means of a twist of hair from below the bun. Others braided it into a pigtail, rolling this up and securing it with a strip of envira.

The hair was smoothed with a small comb (tu:/mi^{a}), the teeth of which, made from the frondstalk of the anajá palm, were fastened by fibres interlaced ornamentally between two pairs of twigs. The last Indian who knew how to make these combs died a few years ago. Today the Tukuna wear their hair in Neobrazilian style and comb it with purchased combs. A few Indian youths follow the custom of allowing their hair to grow exaggeratedly over the forehead and combing, or rather tossing, it all to one side. The beard is not plucked, and thick eyebrows are considered handsome.

Many Indians, especially the girls and children, are never completely free from lice, which, however, are not permitted to increase too much but are scrupulously captured and immediately eaten. But there are many individuals of both sexes who carefully keep themselves free of these parasites.

Ear piercing.—Formerly the Tukuna pierced the ear lobes of girls as often as those of boys; but nowadays only boys undergo the operation (paiči'ni). It is performed during the same ceremony in which the hair is plucked out from children, which formerly took place when the child was two years old; today it occurs at four years of age or over, the implement being a needle made of a bone of the parauacú monkey. The child's paternal aunt pierces the lobe with the instrument, while another relative grasps the point as it emerges on the other side and finishes drawing it through. In the hole thus made they insert a cotton cord and apply a bit of crushed round pepper (më'ë). No diet is imposed upon the victim, but he is prohibited from fighting with his companions lest the puncture suppurate and [the boy is told] become "the size of the head of the one with whom you fought."

Formerly, both sexes commonly put into the hole small plates of white wood (*ochroma*, according to Tessmann). On ceremonial occasions they wore in the ears small wands, the tips in front decorated with the red and black feathers of a small bird, the pore'në, the other end encircled by heron plumes. From this wand there hung a small plate of brass (pë'ru-pë'ru), half-moon shaped for the men (like a quiricá, fig. 4, *a*), triangular for the women. I do not know of what material these small plates were made before the Tukuna knew of brass. Even today the girls use these ear decorations at puberty ceremonies (pl. 12, *k*).

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The costumes.—Tukuna costumes are not related to the ceremonial musical instruments. The costumes appear as often at the hair-plucking and ear-piercing ceremony as they do at the girl's puberty festival, but not at the hair-clipping ceremony or at the work parties. Not actually taboo, they are brought secretly to the festive spot, where all the owners meet in one or two places hidden in the jungle near the house. There the costumes are put on and are removed after the occasion. It is not in good taste for those who brought no disguise to the gathering to visit these spots; the owner and wearer of the costume should remain unknown until the moment he removes it, in the feast house, to hand it over to the host. On the whole, the costumes are entirely profane, and adults and children of both sexes seize the wearers by the back to accompany them in their races. Spix's plate shows two little girls holding on to the principal masqueraders by the fringes of the costume. 292

Use of the costume is the privilege of no specific person, society, or any other organization. The host of the feast, on issuing the invitations, asks anyone he wishes to bring his outfit. Whoever would like to oblige prepares a costume and face mask, the choice of design being entirely up to him; its execution is largely left to his imagination provided he respects certain traditional characteristics.

The generic name of the outfit is na:-rẽ'iɭ[a], a word which commonly means "tail" (of a mammal, reptile, or scorpion; na:-kɭra is the word used for the tail of a bird or fish), but actual tails are rarely used. Tessmann calls the mask costume "to'éro," a name (T., tɔɭ'-ẽru) that designates only a certain type representing the demons of the clan tɔɭ' (*caiarára* monkey). I ascribe about 90 per cent of the costumes to men, 7 per cent to boys between eight and fifteen years old, and the remaining 3 per cent to girls and young women. Thus, the wearers of the two maize outfits shown in plate 17, *a* are a girl of ten and a woman of twenty.

A legend concerning the origin of costumes explains that they represent demons, ɲɔɔ' (Marcoy gives mhoho; Ribeiro de Sampaio, hó hó; Spix, itoho; Martius, iticho). 292 773 539

a) In a cavern in the mountains there lived many demons (ɲɔɔ'): ɔ'ma (the tempest), ma'vɭ (the *araparyrana* tree), tɔɭ' (caiarára monkey), the female demon bẽru' (butterfly), whom the Tukuna identify with the Yurupari of the lingua geral, and the chief of them all, *ẽrɭ'na*. They wished to have a feast, and in order to obtain enough smoked meat they assaulted a Tukuna maloca one stormy night, killing all the inhabitants and dragging off the bodies to their cavern in order to eat them.

After some time the Indians of another maloca went to see their neighbors and, not finding anyone, followed the tracks of the corpses dragged off to the mountains. But as soon as they arrived near the cavern, the ɲɔɔ' leaped out to seize them; however, they managed to escape and returned to their maloca. [For continuation, see *c*.]

b) A number of Tukuna went off to visit their countrymen who lived in va'i-a, at the headwaters of the Rio Cotuhé, a tributary of the Içá. Halfway through the journey, they found a shelter in which to spend the night. While they were camped there, a woman of the group gave birth; because of this event they resolved to remain a few days until she was in condition to accompany them farther. They went out to hunt, but found nothing and had to sleep hungry. In the darkness of the night they heard a gnawing sound. They surrounded and killed the rodent, which was an enormous paca.

All except the parturient and her husband ate of the meat, and on the following day they went out to hunt again, leaving the woman and her little child alone in the shelter. Suddenly she saw a ɲɔɔ' in human shape approach, saying that the paca had been his son, whose death he came to

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avenge. At midnight the ãɔ̃ would come, blowing a snailshell trumpet; those who had not eaten of the pass's flesh must climb a certain species of tree, peeling the bark behind them.

When the hunters returned, the woman recounted to her husband what had occurred, but he answered that this was nonsense; perhaps an old lover had visited her. She then tried to warn her sister-in-law, who replied that she was obviously in a good humor because she had given birth to a male child. Her brother paid her no attention, either. Then, before nightfall, she tried to find a tree of the species stipulated by the ãɔ̃.

At midnight the ãɔ̃ left their mountain cavern, blowing "tũ-tũ" on their horns and each one yelling to his own taste. The woman immediately tried to awaken her companions: they did not move, even when she spilled dripping resin from a torch on them. She bit her husband to arouse him, and finally he followed like a sleepwalker. The two climbed up with the infant into the tree selected, peeling the bark behind them. Soon they heard the cries of the rest, who were all massacred by the ãɔ̃. At daybreak when the family returned to camp they found nothing of their companions except their hammocks. Then they returned to the maloca, where they told what had happened.

c) [Continuation of *a* and *b*] Conscious of disaster, the Tukuna, counseled by an old shaman, made a clearing exclusively for the planting of peppers. When the fruits were ripe, they gathered them and went to the cavern of the ãɔ̃. There they closed the entrance with stakes of paxiuba barriguda, leaving only one opening, where they lighted a great fire. Into this they threw an enormous quantity of peppers, so that the fumes would penetrate the cavern.

Soon a great racket arose from the interior; the Tukuna yelled inside for those among the ãɔ̃ who had not eaten human flesh to come out, and thus it happened: there appeared ɛ̃erĩ'ne playing the tortoiseshell drum, which was his invention, preceded by a few other ãɔ̃ playing their bamboo horns (kɔ̃ⁿiri). These were allowed to depart in peace, and they quickly entered another cavern close by, for another part of the underworld. Afterward, two bẽru' [female butterfly demons] also approached the exit, lamenting and attempting to smother the fire with their enormously elongated breasts. Then they recalled their homes in the mountains, singing their names [see p. 13]. The female demon vaiẽĩ'navẽ also arrived, dripping wet as always, and fell upon the fire in order to put it out with the moisture from her body.

All the ãɔ̃ who had eaten human flesh, and whose masks for this reason bear even today a red stripe of urucú in front, died. When the noise within the cavern had ceased, the Tukuna ordered one of their servants of the Yágua tribe to enter; he did not return because some of the ãɔ̃ were still alive and killed him. They again smoked out the cavern, ordering another servant inside to verify the effect. This one walked around the cavern, observing well, and then came out to announce that all the ãɔ̃ were dead. The Tukuna contemplated the bodies carefully, noting all the details, and later copied the ãɔ̃ in their costumes.

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The costumes are made from the *liber* [fibrous bark] of certain species of *Ficus* (Lg., tururí), whose name in Tukuna is not "aichama," as written by Ribeiro de Sampaio and others following his lead, but, according to their quality, pëy], nu"ẽ'vẽ, or na'i"ẽi. The first two species have a dark brown inner bark, but the third is white. A log some twenty centimeters in diameter and of the desired length is cut, and the inner and outer bark are removed by beating with a small, flattened muirapiranga club that has no cutting edge. The bark is peeled off from the wood by being turned inside out, like a glove, ending up in the shape of a tube. Care is taken during this task lest the sun strike the section, which would make the inner bark brittle; for this reason some palm fronds are made into a shelter over the place of work. Also, the presence of children is not permitted, since this would result in prolonged rains. The inner bark, which separates easily from the outer bark, is washed and stretched out to dry. Most of the time the tube is opened so as to form a rectangular piece, which is more easily worked, but a garment may also be made from the whole tube itself.

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The sewing is done with an eyed bone needle and tucum thread. For certain types of disguises, trouser legs are made from the same piece, and sleeves of attached pieces are obligatory. Some forms cover the wearer from the head to the middle of the calf with one section. Some of these also have sleeves, others only lateral openings through which the arms are thrust. In still others the wearer's arms remain within the garment, being held close to the body and invisible. Those which do not cover the head are closed about the neck by a threaded string; the garments covering the head have the face represented in the appropriate place on the same piece. The costumes with the head fashioned as a separate section have a kind of cap or sack of tururí that covers the entire head to the breast.

In manufacturing face masks, no matter what the design may be, the Tukuna seem to vie with one another in producing the most horrible countenances, with cheeks of black pitch from the *unaní* (*Moronobea* sp.), protuberant eyes of mirror fragments (formerly bits of mother-of-pearl), great, circular, protruding ears, an enormous, hooked or pointed nose, and a distorted mouth with huge, threatening teeth.

Other masks simply have a face painted on the tururí. Further, a few face masks carved of wood (for example, those which represent the sun) have pleasant, human features. Still other masks cover only the head to the torso with one piece, but enlarge the stature of the invisible wearer to the height of two and a half meters by means of a body woven of uarumã strips that rests on the bearer's shoulders. This type ends in an artificial head, which always represents some animal, and never the grimace of a demon.

All the costumes, whether they end in trouser legs or a skirt, have at the hem fringes of envira de matamatá or tururí, which fall to, or almost to, the ground.

The most characteristic motifs represented are the following:

ɔ'ma, the demon of the wind. (Pl. 16, *a*.) The costume is always of red tururí, with legs and sleeves and with few designs. It is equipped with an erect phallus a half meter in length, slightly conical in shape, and testicles the size of a closed fist. It is with this phallus that Wind knocks down the trees of the jungle. The face mask is enormous, seventy centimeters or more in length, and of corresponding width. The ears are almost a half meter in diameter. I also saw one costume that had on its head an enormous bush of vines and second-growth plants which made it even more disproportionate. In his hand ɔ'ma bears a globular whistle (pl. 16, *d*) with an attached air tube, made of a small calabash and a bamboo tube, the whole covered with tururí. With this instrument, which produces a low, mournful cry, he imitates the noise of a storm. Especially when the hour approaches to hand over the mask, ɔ'ma attacks the spectators with his phallus, particularly the men, since the women soon flee, and tries to knock them down during the pursuit. If he turns against the women, it may happen that one of the more resolute, amid general hilarity, will seize and hold him by the phallus. Speaking in Portuguese to the Neobrazilians, the Tukuna call ɔ'ma the "Mother [!] of the Wind."

bëru', the female butterfly demon. (Pl. 17, *b*.) This demon is also represented in a red tururí costume with sleeves and trouser legs. On the chest are painted the elongated breasts that characterize her. On the outside of both sleeves is a wheel of cipó, 60 cm. in diameter and covered with tururí, representing the wings. The face mask, however, is much smaller than that of the preceding costume. The nose is fashioned of a spiraled strip of liana, in imitation of a butterfly's proboscis.

dyë'vaë, the water demon. (Pl. 16, *c*.) This figure is 2.6 m. tall, not counting the feelers. It has neither arms nor legs. The head, which resembles that of a catfish, has a mouth opened upward and is garnished with long feelers.

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292 776 532 ma'vi, the araparyrana tree. (Pl. 18, *b*.) The fruits of this tree have an odor and anciently had an agreeable taste, since lost because the culture hero ɛ'pi dropped them into curare before leaving the earth. The costume of red or white tururí, which sometimes has sleeves but never trouser legs, covers the wearer from head to foot. The faceless head is conical and has on top a plume of uarumã stripe to the tips of which are attached small white plaeques of burity frond-stalks, rhomboid or divided, which represent the fruit of the araparyrana. The characteristic ornament of the costume consists of a painted, toothed J, simple or double. A rod is carried in [534] the right hand, while the left holds a long, slim bamboo whistle introduced into the mouth through a small orifice in the tururí; today this whistle is almost always replaced by the long stem of a papaya leaf.

čavɨ', maize. (Pl. 17, *a*.) The outfit, of white tururí painted with vertical stripes, has no face, no arms, and no legs. The conical head ends in a tuft representing a corn tassel. Two imitations of ears of corn are attached to each side, one about the height of the elbow, the other just below.

tɔɨ', caiarára monkey (*Cebus albifrons*) (pl. 18, *a*) and taikɨrẽ', prego monkey (*Cebus fatuellus*) (pl. 18, *e*) are the two commonest types of costumes. Individually, the representation differs greatly, and in neither can one distinguish the animals whose names the represented demons bear, except that one or the other is shown with a phallus in the shape characteristic of the species. The faces are always diabolical; the garments, of red or white tururí, have no trouser legs and rarely have sleeves, the arms protruding through lateral openings.

292 [177] The imagination of the wearers has free play in the ornamental painting of the tururí, so that one observes modern airplanes represented side by side with traditional designs. These outfits are characterized by rattles suspended by wooden hooks, or on fantastically long and thick spears, or even on a smooth stick of wood 293 [534] 25 cm. in length by 2 cm. in diameter; with these the masqueraders rhythmically beat against the hooks. Once I saw nine of these masqueraders holding a log as thick as a man's arm horizontally before them, with which they beat out the measure. Another carried a handful of slim, pointed rods of anajá ribs or similar material, which he threw, two or three at a time, like assegais, against the wall of the girl's seclusion room, where they remained sticking. The spectators shouted for him to throw them at the figure of the deer painted on the wall.

881 These tɔɨ' masqueraders always comport themselves in a very impetuous, cocky manner, beating on the house thatch before entering, and galloping furiously to and fro through the center of the festive house, with no regard for those who may be inside. After a while they present themselves in a threatening attitude before the jars, demanding drink, some of the tɔɨ' giving in exchange "their son" (pl. 16, *d*), a doll of tururí in more or less human form with a demon's face, which [524] is carried suspended from the backs and which after the feast serves as a plaything of the little girls.

[415] Those who have a face mask in one piece with the body costume drink by means of the tube of a papaya leafstalk. Afterward they again race off to disappear in the jungle, where they remove and store their masks; they never rest or sit down while in the house. As soon as a masked dancer, regardless of his type, enters the house, a few persons, sometimes even the owner or his wife, array themselves behind him and, holding on to his costume, accompany him in his mad career through the dwelling; to escort the taikɨrẽ' or tɔɨ' thus is no simple matter, but it forms the favorite entertainment of the older children of both sexes. Probably this is what Spix meant to show in his plate with the two little girls holding the fringes of the masquerader in front of the rest.

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881 with a horizontal fillet in this position. The shaman arrives, and grasps the hair
302 of the girl's forehead, making gestures as if he were wrenching it. Still holding the girl firmly by the hair of her forehead, he calls all the relatives so that each one of them, first the men, then the women, may cut off a lock of hair, which they bear off with a shout of "dyę:!" and immediately hand over to the uncle. The shaman twists the ends of the hair clipped from the forehead, because, when the culture hero dyoi' first cut the hair from a vorëkį's forehead, a lot of blood ran from the cut. One by one the male relatives now dip a corncob into the dye and paint a curved line on each side of the vorëkį's spine from bottom to top (fig. 11), raising the corncob high each time they complete the upward sweep and shouting in chorus: "dyę:!" Afterward the female relatives finish painting her completely with the same dye. This done, she again returns to the seclusion room, the leaves with the genipapo pulp are carried behind her, and the door is once more securely locked. It is now eight o'clock in the morning.

Fig. 11. Painting of girl with genipapo for girl's puberty ceremony; design on back.

Transportation of the smoked meat to the feast house.—
881 Now the rites which have as a direct object the person of the vorëkį are interrupted by another act of general character, which some, however, quite properly, celebrate on the eve of the feast. At nine o'clock in the morning the host gathers all the guests together in the house and, always beating the drum, conducts them, decorated with tucum fibers, three times in a column round the house and finally to the kitchen. Upon their
[302] arriving there, a woman, generally the uncle's wife, paints on each cheek of every person a small spot of urucú, with her fingertips, sticking a bit of hawk down on each spot. As always, another person, standing to one side, shakes the rattle stick.

Going one by one in single file to the kitchen, the guests receive from the uncle, who stands next to the platform holding the smoked meat, a piece of meat, which each guest places on his shoulder. Then, always with the host in front, they again circle the house three or four times; when they enter, the uncle is already waiting by the other platform next to the seclusion room. One by one they hand him the pieces of meat they have received, and these are laid in their new places. Afterward the procession, making a few turns about the house to the beat of drums, again passes before the uncle, the guests handing him the bundles of tucum previously requested, and he hangs these from a beam near the seclusion room. The masked races customarily start at this hour, groups of five to ten persons, or even individuals, participating.

The girl's costume.—The feather and other ornaments of the girl are piled on
881 top of a tururí cloth with the aid of a cord stretched horizontally between two
292 poles set vertically in the floor in the center of the house. The uncle directs this service, which is carried out at his request by qualified men from among the guests. The feather bracelets have already been woven by female relatives on the eve of the ceremony (pl. 11, *b*). The main task is mounting and painting the macaw-feather crown and the confection of fringes for the bracelets, which are

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made of the pieces of white tururí the preparation of which began the ceremony. About two or three o'clock in the afternoon all is ready (pl. 12, *a–h*), and the vərëkị's male and female relatives try the pieces on themselves, the men and women alternately dancing with them.

In general, the vərëkị is decorated before sunset, within the uariciána enclosure, or in the seclusion room if it is already dark and the uariciánas have been returned. The girl again stands facing in the proper cardinal direction. In addition to the black dye which she has already received, she is now painted with urueú as well, on which hawk plumage is glued. She receives a cotton tanga, and over it is placed a kind of wide belt or tanga of strings of white glass beads of an antiquated type; she also receives pectorals of glass beads. Then ornaments are placed on her arms: bracelets woven with toucan throat feathers, long macaw (canindé) feathers thrust vertically into the bracelet, and the fringes of white tururí.

In front and back, falling from the neck to the hips, are two or more cordons of white tururí, each one with between fifteen and twenty toucan tails, which have been removed in one piece with the white abdominal feathers of the birds, interspersed with bird skins with bright plumage and snailshell rattles with bone clappers. Finally, on the vərëkị's head is placed the crown of tail feathers from the red macaw and plumes from the heron and royal hawk (pl. 12, *a*). If the ceremony takes place within the uariciána enclosure, the vərëkị takes care to cover her eyes with the tururí fringes. Then one of the women brings a heap of nu"u" leaves, which she distributes among the others; the vərëkị squats on her heels; all walk slowly round her and tap her lightly with the leaves, reversing the direction of march several times. At last all shout in chorus: "dyę:!" and throw the leaves on top of the roof thatch. Perhaps it was this ceremony that Marcoy, without having seen it, wished to reproduce, and that appeared in his plate as a scene of flagellation.

The vərëkị is again locked up in the seclusion room, where she must stand until the hour of release on the following dawn, with her hands supported on a horizontal beam and her face turned to the correct quarter of the house wall, behind which the musical instruments sound without interruption. She is not permitted to scratch herself with her nails, but must use a personal little stick, thrust behind her into the house thatch. According to one of my informants, in the old days, for this purpose a piece of wood was carved in the form of a hand with the fingers curled.

The festive mush (mogica).—At nightfall the vərëkị's relatives bring a large pot full of mush (mogica) from the kitchen to the house. This food is distributed among the guests, who eat it, then continue to dance and drink through the night until about two or three o'clock in the morning, when it is time to remove the vərëkị definitely from seclusion.

Removal of the girl from seclusion.—The paternal uncle, his wife, the vərëkị's mother, her female relatives, and some brother or cousin enter the seclusion room by the side door. They seize the girl very carefully on each side, pull the feather crown down over her eyes, and begin to dance with her, as well as the space will permit, always four paces forward to the front wall and four paces back.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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ñɔra'ne continued to have visions from time to time, almost exclusively of the feasts which ta-na'tʃ and his companions celebrated at Igarapé ẽ'varẽ, which were apparently carried out in the fashion of rich *civilizados*, with roasted oxen to eat, and so on. In his visions he also encountered me several times, since I was among ta-na'tʃ's companions. Since I always treated ñɔra'ne kindly, giving him several small presents, he grew greatly attached to me and was unable to conceal his delight in my company, embracing me and following me about wherever I might go. ñɔra'ne spoke not a word of Portuguese; he told his revelations preferably to several women and girls related to him, from whom I in turn heard them.

The Tukuna Religion and the Neobrazilians

The Indians will give absolutely no explanation of their religion to the Neobrazilians, especially to the priests. To satisfy importunate interrogators they usually affirm belief in "tupana" (l.g. for "god" or "saint") and fear of the "yurupari'" (l.g. for "devil"), but they reveal nothing about dyɔi' or ta-ẽ' or about their animistic beliefs. References in the literature, from Ribeiro de Sampaio in 1884 to Tessmann, are proof of this: there is always apparent the pretense of a belief in Christianity without any basis in fact. The Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis has for several years been making praiseworthy efforts to learn something of the native religion. Until 1941, at least, he had learned nothing—nor had the Tukuna learned anything from him. They treat him well; they like him for his simple and affable ways but are secretly convinced, in spite of everything, that he can be only an enemy of their religious traditions; hence they continue to pull his leg with yarns of tupa'na and the yurupari'.

To illustrate the extent of Tukuna pretense of Christianity I might mention only that, at a puberty ceremony, I saw on a masquerader, and afterward acquired, a mask of tɔ|' that sported the miter, cross, and reddish beard (imitated by hair of a squirrel's tail) of the prelate of São Paulo de Olivença. I also saw another demon masquerader who brandished as a dance staff a cross that could have come only from some Christian grave.

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PLATE 16

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[534]

Masquerade costumes and accessories. *a*. ɔ̃ma, the demon of the wind. *b*. Otter, *c*. dyẽ'vaĩ. *d*. ɔ̃ma's whistle (left); "son" of tɔ̃j' (right). *d*, × ⅙.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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a

b

[534]

c

d

[P.201]

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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PLATE 17

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Masquerade costumes and uariciána enclosure. *a.* čarĭ' (maize). *b.* bĕru', the female butterfly demon. *c.* Enclosure where ceremonial musical instruments (uariciána) are kept.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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MASQUERADE COSTUMES AND THE UARICÁNA ENCLOSURE

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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PLATE 18

Masquerade costumes. *a*. tɔ̨ʾ (caiarára monkey). *b*. maʾvɨ, the araparyrana tree. *c*. tɔ̨ʾ and talkɨrɨʾ (prego monkey).

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1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

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MASQUERADE COSTUMES

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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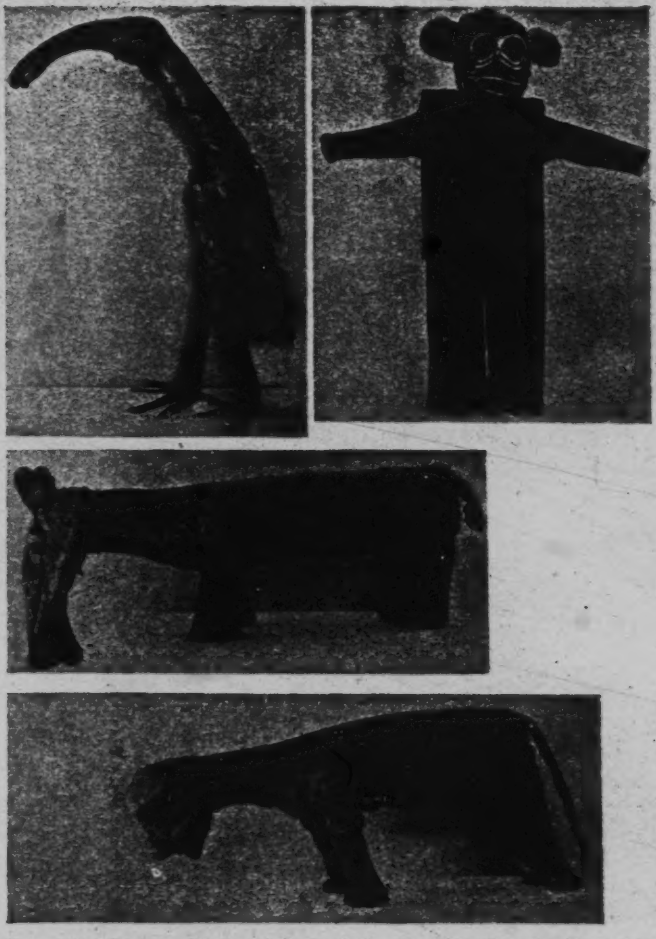

PLATE 64.—Tucuna objects of bark cloth. *Top, left:* Jaburú. *Top, right:* Garment with mask. *Center:* Mythological animal. *Bottom:* Jaguar. (Animals are about 4 ft. long; other objects to same scale.) (Courtesy Curt Nimuendajú and Museu Parsense Emilio Goeldi, Belém.)

[p. 714 A]

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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PLATE 65.—Tucuna Indians of the 19th century. *Top:* Part of girl's puberty ceremony. (After Marcoy, 1869.) *Bottom:* Tucuna of the upper Amazon; a *Mundurucú* woman in center. (After Osculati, 1854.)

[p. 714 B]

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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291 Men formerly wore a belt with one apron of turury inner bark in front and another behind. The penis was stuck under the belt. Women [174] perhaps at first went about entirely nude, but later adopted a short cloth of turury or of woven cotton, wrapped around the hips. Men wore 301 bracelets with long feathers and necklaces of teeth (pl. 65, *bottom*). At feasts chiefs wore a cap of feathers mounted on a cotton or *Bromelia* 292 net, or large diadema.

MANUFACTURES

532 **Bark cloth.**—Various masks and zoomorphic figures are made of bark 287 cloth (pl. 64).

285 **Basketry.**—Clothes baskets are made of uarumã stalks with a round opening closed with a lid. Four points are drawn up and down over the lid and the bottom, the latter serving as legs. Other baskets have a flat square lid and bottom. Both types of baskets are made in all sizes, from 2 to 16 inches (4 to 40 cm.) in diameter. Burdens are carried [482] in large conical baskets hexagonally woven of liana, or in cylindrical baskets of uarumã stalks. These are supported by an embira-fiber tumpline. The *Tucuna* also use pouches of looped tucum threads.

323 **Pottery.**—Women and sometimes men still make bowls, dishes, pans, [531] and pots of clay, which are decorated with painted or modeled ornaments. [776] Potter's clay is gathered according to certain rules so as not to anger its owner, a water demon who appears in the shape of the western rainbow.

415 **Gourds.**—Gourds are covered with a black lacquer, and may bear de- 531 signs in indelible red pigment. Wooden spoons are carved, sometimes in fantastic shapes.

411 **Weapons.**—The bow is 6½ feet (2 m.) long with the ends notched to hold the string. It is now rare, even as a fishing weapon. The hunting arrow has a poisoned wooden head and feathering of the arched type. Arrows are 5 feet 4 inches (1⅗ m.) long. Spears have three types of points: (1) a poisoned, wooden point with four corners; (2) an iron point; and (3) a plain pointed stick. The last two are still used to hunt jaguars and peccaries. The *Tucuna* blowgun is over 10 feet (3 m.) long, and the darts 1 foot (30 cm.) long. The poison [278] is the most effective of any made in the Amazon Basin, but its manu- [178] facture, which requires much time and care, is now being forgotten. [231] Hunting dogs, which are of little use, are, according to tradition, pre- [173] Columbian.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

181 The *Tucuna* are industrious and hard working, kind to their friends, honest, patient, and hospitable. But they are more liable than other Indians [762] to great outbursts of sudden anger, a trait which sometimes leads them to suicide. This is a manifestation of their individualism and desire to live

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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At this feast, as at the feast of children's depilation and ear piercing, masks are used (pl. 65, *top*). These are made, used, and cared for by the guests, who portray anything they wish, such as imaginary demons and fantastic animals. They are in no way associated with individual persons, societies, or other groups. The masked persons customarily remain unidentified until they deliver their masks to the host. About 90 percent of those wearing masks are men, 7 percent boys, and the remainder girls and young women. For costume, clothing is cut and sewn from the bast fiber of certain trees (*Ficus* sp.), sometimes in the shape of pants, sleeves, and fringes, and at other times in the form of a tight gown without sleeves, extending half way down the leg. The face, generally a horrendous caricature of a demon (pl. 64, *top, right*), may be attached to or separate from the costume. The mask representing the storm demon is distinguished by an enormous face and a phallus nearly 18 inches (½ m.) long. Nearly all clothes are painted with vegetable dyes. Sometimes the motif of the mask is identified by the song rather than by the appearance of the mask, which is entirely a product of the individual's imagination. The masked people, sometimes numbering 40 to 50, gather in a special place in the woods, and go to the house in groups up to 10, some of them running up and down at a furious pace, and others approaching slowly. They come for a drink, then disappear to make way for another group.

At the appointed time the guests arrive at the house with their families, sometimes numbering more than 300 persons. They are received inside along the walls, the center being left open for the ceremonies. When all have assembled, they go to the kitchen to be painted with urucú and to have their faces decorated with royal sparrow hawk down. After everyone receives a piece of roast meat, all return in a solemn procession to the house and put their meat on a stand on the side of the seclusion room. On the other side are the vessels of beverages. The feast now begins. Henceforth, everyone goes around the central space in the house singing to the accompaniment of small drums and carrying his dancing stick on his shoulder.

Early in the morning, the girl is brought through a door from the seclusion room to the fenced place around the megaphone where, with her face turned to the proper cardinal point, she is adorned with genipa and white turury that have been ceremonially prepared. Before sunset, she is decorated in the seclusion room with streamers of royal sparrow hawk plumage, a long macaw feather diadem, feather bracelets with white turury fringes, strings of feathers made of toucan abdomens and tails, shell bells with bone clappers, and ear pegs, which are prepared by skilled persons and tried out by her relatives. The women fan her with broad leaves. She then stands in her room facing the place where the megaphone and trumpet are sounded and scratching herself with a little stick. The guests in the main room are given meat and fish stew and cooked bananas.

The master of the hut then addresses the stranger, and in the hollow vociferating tones peculiar to the Ticunas, asks, "Who are you?—Where do you come from?—Are you friend or foe?—What brings you here?" The stranger satisfies these inquiries one after the other; or, more frequently, his visit having only a commercial aim, is content to answer by exhibiting the articles he brings, and which he desires to exchange for the products of Ticuna industry. The arms are then cast aside in order to discuss the value of the goods offered and those wanted; it will be readily understood that the discussion is intermingled with numerous requisitions on the caisuma. The articles of Ticuna industry consist of yucca-flour, blowing-pipes, hammocks, hunting-poison, and coarse cotton goods.

Some young girls with short-cut hair whom we had noticed among the Ticunas led us for a moment to believe that they shared the custom of cropping with the Yahuas; but the information we obtained on this subject disabused us of the notion. The cropped pate of these young girls was only the visible sign of their having attained the age of puberty, and was the complement of the mysterious practice which the tribes of the Plain of Sacramento, and notably the Conibos, call *Schébianabiqui*. The Ticunas name it *Ihiéboah*, an expression which is less humorous than the other, and which may be translated "young girl," from *ihié*, woman, and *boah*, child.

After translating the word, it remains to describe the custom itself.

When the matrons find that a female child has attained puberty, they take possession of the young girl, conduct her in a procession to a hut built in a lonely place for the purpose, shut her up in it after providing some food and a vessel of water, and then leave her for forty-eight hours, the victim of *ennui* or her reflections. At the expiration of this time the matrons come to deliver their prisoner; but before giving her complete liberty, they rub her head with the milky juice of a *ficus*, which instantaneously coagulates, and forms, under the rotatory motion of the palms of their hands, a multitude of little balls, within which is entangled the hair of the young girl. These little balls, which the matrons snatch away one by one for amusement, tear away the hair with them, and make the patient scream with pain; two musicians, with their backs to the entrance of the hut, play an accompaniment to this proceeding on the flageolet and tambourine.

When the head of the victim has been thus completely stripped, the women cover it with a hood of yellow feathers, the shape of which reminds one of a species of toadstool (*Boletus*); in the centre of this is fixed a plume of feathers from the tail of the ara. Thus accoutred, the young girl, frightened and crying, is first led round the village, and then conducted in succession to the river-side and the forest, continually followed by the matrons, who whip her roughly with green boughs in order to harden her against the trouble to come.

After several hours of wandering in this manner, and an indefinite number of draughts of caisuma which the young girl is forced to drink, they introduce her into a hut where a new hammock has been slung for the purpose. Utterly broken down with fatigue, drunkenness, and the switchings so unsparingly administered, she tumbles into the swinging net and immediately falls into a profound sleep. In the meantime, the assembled nation celebrates, with games and a remarkable consumption of fermented liquor, the Ihiéboah fete.

5: Bates N-5 (1848-1859) 1892
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776 of their daily life, the causes of which are not very immediate or obvious to their dull understandings. It is vain to try to get information out of

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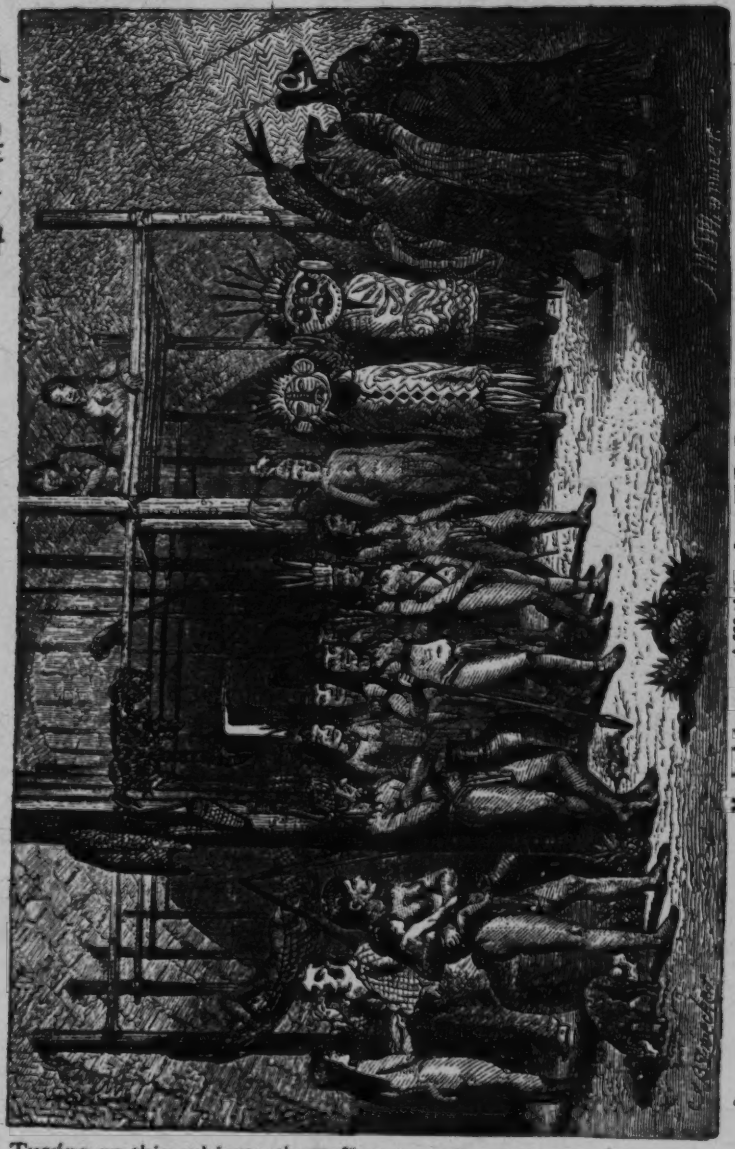

Masked dance and Wedding-feast of Tucúna Indians.

776 a Tucúna on this subject; they affect great mystery when the name is mentioned, and give very confused answers to questions: it was clear,

5: Bates N-5 (1848-1859) 1892
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however, that the idea of a spirit as a beneficent God or Creator had not entered the minds of these Indians. There is great similarity in all their ceremonies and mummeries, whether the object is a wedding, the celebration of the feast of fruits, the plucking of the hair from the heads of their children, or a holiday got up simply out of a love of dissipation. Some of the tribes on these occasions deck themselves with the bright-coloured feathers of parrots and macaws. The chief wears a head-dress or cap made by fixing the breast-feathers of the Toucan on a web of Bromelia twine, with erect tail plumes of macaws rising from the crown. The cinctures of the arms and legs are also then ornamented with bunches of feathers. Others wear masked dresses: these are long cloaks reaching below the knee, and made of the thick whitish-coloured inner bark of a tree, the fibres of which are interlaced in so regular a manner, that the material looks like artificial cloth. The cloak covers the head; two holes are cut out for the eyes, a large round piece of the cloth stretched on a rim of flexible wood is stitched on each side to represent ears, and the features are painted in exaggerated style with yellow, red, and black streaks. The dresses are sewn into the proper shapes with thread made of the inner bark of the Uaissíma tree. Sometimes grotesque head-dresses, representing monkeys' busts or heads of other animals, made by stretching cloth or skin over a basket-work frame, are worn at these holidays. The biggest and ugliest mask represents the Juruparí. In these festival habiliments the Tucúnas go through their monotonous see-saw and stamping dances, accompanied by singing and drumming, and keep up the sport often for three or four days and nights in succession, drinking enormous quantities of caysúma, smoking tobacco, and snuffing paricá powder.

I could not learn that there was any deep symbolical meaning in these masked dances, or that they commemorated any past event in the history of the tribe. Some of them seem vaguely intended as a propitiation of the Juruparí, but the masker who represents the demon sometimes gets drunk along with the rest, and is not treated with any reverence. From all I could make out, these Indians preserve no memory of events going beyond the times of their fathers or grandfathers. Almost every joyful event is made the occasion of a festival: weddings amongst the rest. A young man who wishes to wed a Tucúna girl has to demand her hand of her parents, who arrange the rest of the affair, and fix a day for the marriage ceremony. A wedding which took place in the Christmas week whilst I was at St. Paulo, was kept up with great spirit for three or four days, flagging during the heats of mid-day, but renewing itself with increased vigour every evening. During the whole time the bride, decked out with feather ornaments, was under the charge of the older squaws, whose business seemed to be sedulously to keep the bridegroom at a safe distance until the end of the dreary period of dancing and boosing. The Tucúnas have the singular custom, in common with the Collínas and Mauhés, of treating their young girls, on their showing the first signs of womanhood, as if they had committed some crime. They are sent up to the girao under the smoky and filthy roof, and kept there on very meagre diet, sometimes for a whole month. I heard of one poor girl dying under this treatment.